1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

288 177 which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

412 Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware 323 although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and 411 spring bows) along with traps constituted their only 224 hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet 227 in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs, 411 spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were 501 used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their 556 wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbarism" 114 181 [10] and even of this wealth they possessed little. The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

[286] [4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkenki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island].

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

114 knew how to make earthenwares, the latter period of
●181 Barbarism[11] or according to Müller-Lyer the period of the advance from the highest hunting stage.[12] But the Ainu living in the period we are about to study led a much more advanced life.

177 The Ainu were not an isolated people. In the north
648 they came into contact with the nomadic Orokko and Gilyak on Karafuto. A strong Manchurian influence was introduced through trade with the Santan across the sea while Karafuto itself was, in effect, a Manchurian colony exerting influence on the Okhotsk coast of Hokkaidō.[a] To the south the Ainu were continuously in contact with Japanese culture.[13] If it is true, as common opinion holds it to be, that the *Watari To* mentioned in the *SDE* were Ezo who moved from the Ōu region,[14] then the influence of Japan dates back more than a millennium and in fact recent excavations tend to prove this.[15] However, communication between the Ezo and the Japanese had been frequent even before that; that the Ezo were strongly influenced can be seen
[172] from the discovery of both Jomon and Yayoi earthenwares in Ezo regions.[16] To the east the Ainu had, from early times, been in contact with the natives of the Kuriles and Kamchatka.[17] The most dominant influence of all of these culture contacts was the Japanese, with the Manchurian second. Japanese culture was higher than the others and the Ainu were in contact with it over a longer period of time and they were closer to the Japanese central government. Japanese contacts with the Ezo were not limited to the southwestern regions but extended also to Sōya and Akkeshi and even to Karafuto and the Kuriles. Under these diverse
177 influences the economic culture of the Ezo gradually improved. The introduction of vegetable fibre cloth
[291] completely changed the clothing habits of the Ainu and, while cotton when first imported from Japan was used

[11] Morgan, *Ancient society*, 10.

[12] Müller-Lyer, *Phasen der Kultur und Richtungslivie des Fortschrittes.*

[101] [a] Santan was a catch-all word used to denote both the continental area across from the island of Karafuto and the people in that area. It comes from *Janta* or "nomads" a Gilyak name for the nomadic tribes who lived between the Amur River and the sea. The Ainu corrupted *Janta* into Santan and the Japanese picked up the term. The Gilyak lived in the Amur estuary area. Orokko is the Ainu term for the Manchurian tribes that lived on Karafuto. See J. Harrison, Kita Yezo Zusetsu or a description of the Island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 99 (2): 96-97, 1955.

[13] Yonemura Kioe, *Kitami Kyōdo Shiwa* (Local history of Kitami), 12.

[14] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu Kenkyū* (Ainu studies), 367 ff.

[15] Kōnō Hiromichi, Hassabu mura no iseki hakkatsu ki (Report on the excavations of the ruins at Hassabu) and Takakura Shinichirō, Hassabu mura no iseki ni tsuite (On the excavations at Hassabu), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10.

[16] *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei*, 21 [Jomon and Yayoi are type names for the stone age pottery of Japan].

[17] Torii Ryūzō, *Kyokutō Minzoku* (Races of the Far East), 304–310.

[P.14-(A)]

1:Takakura : H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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as their power grew so did their tyranny over the Ezo. However, the Ezo in the interior of the east coast were still in a low state of culture and were a powerful and dangerous people. Their hardy characteristics are described in *Hokkai Zuihitsu* written in 1739. "Generally speaking the Ezo in the East are sturdy in character and apt to defy the law of the Matsumae. The Ezo in Kiritappu, Akkeshi, and Kusuri are hard to handle." In 1737 merchant trips were cancelled because of a rebellion in Kiritappu, and in 1758 in July, two to three thousand Ainu from Noshappu in the East attacked the Ezo in Sōya killing sixty and wounding over two hundred. The following year officials were sent to make the *Otona* apologize. In 1770 disputes arose between the Ezo of Tokachi and those of Sarugun and clan officials were sent in to arbitrate. Chief Tsukinoe of Tobui on Kunashiri was especially powerful. In 1775, under the influence of alcohol, he attacked and robbed a merchant vessel. As a result no merchant vessels were sent there for the next ten years.[78]

However, since the cultural level of the Ezo in this region was low and since the techniques of *Basho* management were now well advanced and the contractors were able merchants utilizing advanced methods this eastern area was adroitly managed and the Ezo there faced with a fast-growing control. Therefore, every possibility of revolt existed. In 1783 the author of *Tōyūki* has this to say:

> The Ezo in the east are a sturdy tribe. Although they seem to be ignorant, it is said that, having solved the problem of death, they have strong characters. If they are not treated with care, they will probably cause trouble in the future. Just recently an Ezo committed suicide because of his anger. We must remember the old adage that a rat when driven into a corner may attack a cat.

This prediction came true with the outbreak of revolt in Kunashiri and Menashi. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi gives the causes of this outbreak as follows:

> The employees of the contractor Hidaya Kyuhei and the servants who went to Ezo as *Uwanoriyaku* disregarded the custom of *Omusha* and their trading was very unfair. The Ezo whom they hired to fish for salmon and trout and to press fish oil were treated harshly with little compensation. The natives could never earn enough to carry them through the winter months and were on the verge of starvation. The employers beat them when they refused to work, threatened to poison them, said they would supersede them with Japanese labor, robbed them of their property, raped their women, and when the natives complained threatened them. Thus, the fear and resentment of the Ezo were at a peak when one of them was poisoned from some rice or sake he had obtained from the post. The natives, thinking this was the start of a mass poisoning, revolted. In May, 1789, the officials and guardhouses of Kunashiri were attacked. Twenty-two

[78] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 348–350.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 562 stead of attending to her duty, stopped to have a chat with her, as is the general custom among women when they meet.

"Whilst they were thus chattering the time sped, till the male deity, working away hard, had nearly finished his portion of the task. Upon looking up and seeing this, the female became very much surprised and frightened and, in order to hasten matters, did her work in a most hasty and slovenly manner. Hence it is that the west coast of Yezo is so rugged and dangerous. If, therefore, anyone is disposed to grumble at the very rugged, rough and dangerous condition of the west coast of this land, let him remember that it was not the Creator Himself who was at fault in this matter, but His deputy. The chattering propensity of the woman god was the cause of this calamity."

Then a nice little moral is drawn from this really beautiful story: "Set a watch over your lips and [181] attend to your duties, for see how rough the west coast of Yezo is, and that all owing to a chattering goddess!"

But it must not be supposed that the lady was let off without punishment for this grave delinquency. She got such a sound scolding from her male companion that it made her weep bitterly. And this was the origin of tears. Tears are called *supe* and my informant told me that this means "hear," and "water." She heard and water came from her eyes.

562 On first going among the interior villages, I was much surprised to see how very dignified, ladylike, and decorous the women folk were in many cases, and how much respect the men had for them. The women, where they had not been touched by outside influences, were regarded and treated as the equals of the men, and they had a voice in all home affairs. They were indeed rulers in their own households, and they kept a very sharp eye on their daughters, seeing that they behaved themselves and did their own work. If the men did not like the woman's rule, all they could do

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

181 Their motto was quite Christian when put in practice, namely, "If a man does not choose to work, neither shall he eat" (the word "man" being, of course, taken in its generic sense). Such was the golden age of the [565] Ainu. They were quite socialistic and had no class distinctions. But if a man got a little more by his industry than his neighbour, he was allowed to keep it.

462 782 562 I was very much surprised to find that the women did not often draw nigh to the gods in prayer; that was left to the men. On asking the reason of this, I was informed that "the women as well as the men used to worship the gods and take part in religious exercises, but our wise ancestors forbade them to do so, because it was thought they might use their prayers against the men."

562 782 769 Nevertheless, the women are sometimes sent to offer libations to the deceased ancestors. But they are taught to say just these words, as a rule, "O ye honourable ancestors, I am sent to present this *sakė* and food to you." The Ainu are somewhat strict about this and they say, "If a person cultivates a selfish spirit and offers no food and drink to his departed ancestors, the elders of the people should warn him, saying, 'O stupid and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand, thou shall die a hard death.' If this be said, all the people, young and old alike, will be careful to honour the dead." And so I found this form of worship honourably and punctiliously observed.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LVI

A REMARKABLE AINU LOVE TRAGEDY

Kutri of Crag-top was the most handsome man in his district and was highly regarded by all. He had lovely locks of fine wavy black hair and a delightful beard. He was as strong as a bear in his prime, and as bold, and he knew not what fear was. He was as swift of foot as a deer, as clever as a wily fox, as keen-sighted as a hawk, and as quick and sure in his movements as a weasel pursuing his prey. He never returned from the hunt empty-handed and was never known to miss a fish with his hook or spear. His club for killing salmon sounded three times to any other man's once. In shooting, his aim was so true that his arrows invariably hit the mark, and he, above all others, knew how to track animals in the forest. He could wind the instrument for decoying deer so well that when he blew it, the sound he made was so sharp and clear as to be indistinguishable from the call of a doe for its young, the cry of the young for its mother, or a signal of distress or alarm. He was wonderful! The man was like a demi-god among his fellows. He was also very eloquent of speech; he could roar like thunder when he was angry, and when at peace his voice was like the rippling of a gentle stream of water running among the pebbles in its course. No one could stand before him. He was the pride and hope of his race, and good-tempered and humble withal. The maidens delighted in him and all the young men envied him; for, did not everyone praise him? and did not the chiefs and elders of the people extol his virtues?

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 831 ●181 Yai-mah of the Hollows was a very beautiful maiden. All admired the damsel and loved her. She was tall and broad-shouldered. Her back was as straight as an arrow. Her arms and limbs were round and shapely. She carried her head high and with grace, and her step was quick, firm and springy. She was as pure and innocent as a beautiful lily. She had magnificent dark hair reaching nearly to her shoulders, and it was glossy like a ripe plum in full bloom. Her brows were thick and her eye-lashes long. Her eyes were of a lovely dark brown colour and very bright. To look at her was to be fascinated by her, for she was always as full of grace and charm as she was lively and pretty. Every part of her bespoke joy and vigour. Her face was like a full moon, round, glossy and fat, and the tattoo round her mouth was of a glowing dark blue, well cut in and beautiful to behold. Her smile, courted by all alike, was bewitching, and her voice sounded like the jingle of metal bars when they knock together. She could weave garments and sew better than any other damsel, and her embroidery was beyond compare. She could tell stories, sing, and dance, and she could also play the harp and hum cradle songs. She could bring in more water without spilling, and carry bigger loads of wood than any other woman, and her garden plot was always well kept. She was a model in every way and had no blemish. She could cook beautifully, and her dishes were savoury and appetizing. Her chestnut, fish-roe, and millet dumplings were enjoyed and relished by all. If Kutri was like a well-grown ash tree of the mountain forest, Yai-mah was like a lovely flower of the sheltered hollows.

539 831 584 Kutri one day went down to the Hollows where Yai-mah lived, and as he went along he met her in the path not far from her home. When they saw each other they were both struck as by a blow. They came to a sudden standstill and neither could take eyes off

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

174 172 323 Plate LXXXI represents a portion of a large and very interesting collection made up by M. l'Abbé Furet, of Hakodate. The specimens were obtained from various localities in Yezo and from Awomori, on the main island of Japan. It is scarcely within the province of this article to discuss this part of the subject at length, particularly since to do so would require numerous references to Japanese pottery, and many additional illustrations to present the subject clearly. Those who are already acquainted with ancient Japanese pottery will immediately recognize that these specimens are entirely different in form and decoration from any found in Japanese graves. Professor Milne states, as a historical fact, that the Ainos in the neighborhood of Nemuro "used flint instruments and manufactured pottery until late in the last century." The basis of this statement seems to be that Mr. Charles Maries saw in the houses of Ainos, near Horoidzumi, clay vessels in appearance very like the fragments from the shell-heaps, from which he concluded that the Ainos at that time still made pots; and further, that a book published in the year 1800 gives drawings and descriptions of pots at that time manufactured by the Ainos.

The evidence is not quite convincing. Professor Milne thinks the Ainos gave up making pottery because they could get it from the Japanese. But, as far as my observation goes, they do not use much pottery of any kind. Their implements are of wood, and if one occasionally finds a Japanese tea-set in an Aino house, it will be about the extent of their possessions of that kind of ware.

172 The shell-heaps furnish still further evidence of the early occupancy of Japan by a race certainly closely related to the Ainos. It is a peculiarity of the latter that the humerus and the tibia are very much flattened or platycnemic. Such bones have been found by Professor Morse in the shell-heaps, with indications of cannibalism among the people.

[145] [246]

A Japanese writer has recently published a description of two peculiar huts still in existence in Shonai, on the west coast of Japan, which he believes may have been erected by the people who made the pottery of the kitchen-middens.*

181 If we may judge from the authority of old Japanese writings, and also from other evidence, such, for example, as the discovery of indications of cannibalism in the shell-heaps by Professor Morse, and the cruel modes of punishment brought forward by H. von Siebold, the Ainos were once a fierce and warlike people. They are now gentle and courteous in manner, and one can scarcely believe that they are descendants of cruel savages. Only once, while I was alone among them on the northeast coast, I had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the chief man of the village, the largest Aino I saw in all my travels. I had seen some of his people the day before, and had promised them

123

* Y. Hashiba. Dwellers in pits still found at Shonai. Bulletin of the Tokyo Anthropological Society, III (1888), 152. Printed in Japanese.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

which are thick and bushy, are allowed to grow to full length, and they are never combed or brushed. Consequently an Aino at home presents a very uncouth appearance. Nevertheless, it is evident enough that most of them would be fine-looking men if they could be induced to bathe, comb their hair, and put on good clothes. Although ignorant and superstitious, they do not look like savages or barbarians. Their manners are gentle, their voices soft and pleasing.

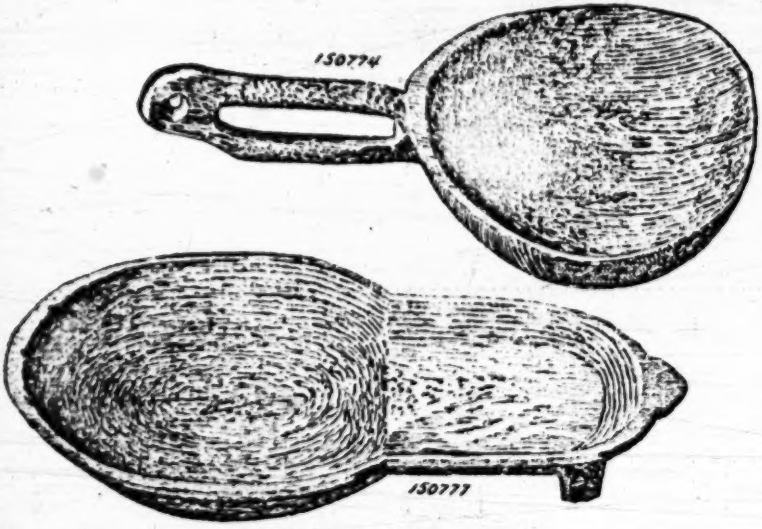

Fig. 88.

RICE-BOWL AND FISH-PLATE, TSUISHIKARI AINOS.

Good types are shown in Plates LXXXV–IX. The hairiness of the body is best shown in Plates LXXXVII–IX. The old man (Pl. LXXXIX) at the door of his house is covered with long hair on the breast and shoulders, which is much more conspicuous than appears in the photograph. The young women are often comely and attractive. The young girl (Pl. XC) is not devoid of the many feminine instincts of a coquettish society belle. But she was capable of making a good bargain for the work of her hands, as I found when I purchased some of her embroidery.

The Japanese in Yezo are quick to recognize the good qualities of Aino women, and many of them marry Aino wives. As the women grow older, they quickly lose the bloom of youth, becoming worn and wrinkled, no doubt from the exposure and hardship of their rough lives. Two good types from the northeast coast are represented in Plate XCI.

The faces of the women are disfigured by tattooing around the mouth, the style of which varies with the locality. Young maidens of six or seven have a little spot on the upper lip. As they grow older,

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

food and raiment, the wigwam is close and smoky, the fruits of the earth are nuts, and acorns, and roots, and grubs dug out of the ground. To know how miserably a savage lives, one must see him in his house.

A century ago the Ainos were living in the age of stone. They are beyond it now only because they have obtained knives from the Japanese. The stone arrow-heads, which one may pick up almost anywhere, even in the plowed fields of Hakodate, have given way to heads of bamboo or iron. At Yeterof I purchased a stone implement for cutting, which could not have been very old. They have no writings, no records of their past, no aspirations. Their language is still a puzzle, their traditions and myths are scarcely known except to a few students. They are incapable of advancement. After a century of contact with the Japanese, they have learned no arts, adopted no improvements. The hunter to day shoots the bear with poisoned arrow from a bow as primitive as early man himself, although the Japanese are famous for their archery and weapons.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF THE AINOS.

The appearance and general characteristics of the Ainos have already been described. It is, therefore, only necessary to allude particularly to certain conspicuous features, mainly to their hairy nature. For a good series of physical measurements the reader is referred to those of Dr. Scheube,* and especially to a very valuable contribution by Prof. W. Donitz.† The last-named author concludes that on the whole the results of his observations indicate that the Ainos belong to the Mongolian stock. This conclusion is not sustained by all observers. Dr. Scheube, for example, concludes from the results of measurements of Aino skulls, and from other characters, that they do not belong to the Mongolian type. Their great hairiness, the position of the eyes, the conformation of the nose, the great breadth of the face, etc., are all characters which distinguish them from Mongols.

The most conspicuous feature of the Ainos is their remarkable hairiness. The testimony of travelers concerning this matter is conflicting, but we may explain this on the supposition that the observers have not always recognized the typical Aino. Mr. Batchelor says: "I have seen one old man so completely covered with hair that his body could hardly be seen." This was an exceptional case, but my own observations have fully substantiated the results of those writers who have carefully investigated the physical characters of these people. Dr. Scheube relates that he has seen men with hair on the breast 10 centimetres in length, and on the back 5 centimetres and over. This subject has been examined by Dr. Hilgendorf,‡ who, in 1875, made a series of

* Scheube, B. Die Ainos. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, III (1882), 220–245.

† Donitz, Prof. W. Bemerkungen ueber Ainos, *loc. cit.*, Dec., 1874, 61–67.

‡ Mitth. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Natur- u. Völkerkunde. June, 1875, pp. 11–13.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

piteously. The most trying part for me was, of course, to keep serious during this long tragi-comic performance, and I was indeed glad when it was all over; when my supremacy was acknowledged, and my immunity from further insult secured; when submission had been made, and such whips and stings of outrageous fortune as might come from the painting of a fish had been humbly accepted.

The Ainu are gentle and mild by nature, but, like all ignorant people, they are extremely superstitious, and superstition is a powerful excitant. Nevertheless, they are good people in their own way, and it must not be inferred from this small experience of mine that they are bullies, for they are not. The superstition regarding the reproduction of images is common all through the East, with the exception of the Japanese, and in many parts of Europe itself strange ideas are connected with portrait-painting. In Spain or Italy many a girl of the lower classes would think herself dishonoured if she happened to be sketched unawares, or if her picture were shown without the consent of her parents, brothers, relatives, and the parish priest.

However, these Horobets Ainu are said, since civilisation has set in in that part of Yezo, of late years to have become untrustworthy and violent. They are more given to drunkenness than their neighbours, as they can procure from the Japanese stronger beverages than their own. *Sake* (Japanese wine) of inferior quality is sold and exchanged in large quantities, and has the same fatal effects on them as rum—our fire-water—had on the American Indians.

I was not sorry to leave a village which had displayed so little appreciation of my art. I took two ponies and two pack-saddles, to one of which was lashed my baggage, while I sat on the other. Riding is a delightful pastime when you have a good horse and a good saddle; but not when you have to look after two vicious animals, and are yourself perched on a rough wooden pack-saddle. Moreover, Ainu pack-saddles are perhaps the most uncomfortable of their kind. The illustration shows one of them. It is made with a rough, solid wooden frame, of which the front and back parts are semi-circular. One large hole is perforated in each of these to allow ropes to be passed through. Under this frame are two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"Oh, those *seyono shto* (foreigners) are all born lunatics," said the voice of one who knew better.

The Shibegari River, at the mouth of which Shimokebo is situated, is also called Shibe-chari—"sprinkled salmon river." Very minute traces of gold are found in the river-sands and gravels, and also some well-developed brown garnet crystals and quartzite and phyllite pebbles. The gold, however, is not in sufficient quantity to enable it to be worked profitably. Seven and a half miles from Shimokebo the Japanese Government has another horse farm similar to that of the At-pets.

The travelling along the coast was heavy, and I could ride but slowly. I had to make the ponies go where the sand was wet along the beach, as there it was harder and they did not sink. This had its drawbacks, for the sea was very rough, and once or twice my ponies and I came very near being washed against the cliffs by some extra large wave. Instead of green banks, as between Tomakomai and Shimokebo, here were high cliffs of volcanic formation, with a narrow strip of sand at their foot.

The few Ainu along the coast were decidedly ugly. It was only now and then that in a sheltered nook I came across a hut or two of seaweed gatherers; and, still following the cliffs, I passed two or three small villages of a few houses each. After fifteen miles of this heavy track I reached the fishing station of Ubahu, where I was able to obtain some fresh horses. Prowling along the beach, I examined some of the Ainu canoes that had been drawn on shore. They might be divided into three classes—(*a*) the "dug-outs," used mostly

AINU LASHED CANOE.

for river navigation; (*b*) the lashed canoe; and (*c*) a larger kind used for sailing. The "dug-out" does not require explanation, as everyone knows that it is a trunk of a tree hollowed out in the shape of a boat, and propelled either by paddling or punting.

The lashed canoes are made of nine pieces of wood lashed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I was told here again that Ainu women often suckle small bears at their breasts so as to fatten them up for the festival; and one not infrequently sees the women in Ainu households chewing food, and letting the young cub take it from their lips.

These Ainu are much more interesting as types, and also much purer in race, than either the Piratori or the Volcano Bay Ainu. A learned missionary, who has not himself visited these people, writes as follows regarding them:—"The Ainu of the Tokapchi district, in Yezo, are spoken of as having been particularly addicted to this kind of warfare (night raids against each other, in which the men were murdered, and the women stolen and used as slaves or kept as concubines), and are even now held in abhorrence by the people of some villages. They are said not only to have murdered people, but also to have eaten some of them. They were, therefore, cannibals, and I have heard them spoken of as 'eaters of their own kind.'"[1]

From my own personal experience—and I may add I am the only foreigner who has seen these Tokachi, or as others call them, Tokapchi Ainu—I came to a conclusion very different from this. I found that not only were they not cannibals, but that, taken altogether, they were the most peaceable, gentle, and kind Ainu I came across during my peregrinations through the land of the hairy people. Indeed, I am sorry to say that it is not savagery that makes the Ainu bad, but it is civilisation that demoralises them. The only place in Yezo where I was actually ill-treated by Ainu, as my readers will remember, is the village where they were said to be "very civilised."

I have no wish to force my opinion on the public as the correct one. I do but describe what I have actually seen in a district in which others who have written on this subject have never set foot, and I leave it to my readers to judge who has most claim to be heard.

The language of the Tokachi Ainu varies considerably from the language spoken in more civilised districts, and none of the natives up the river could speak Japanese when I was there.

[1] Rev. John Batchelor, 'The Ainu of Japan,' chap. xx.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

they find on the mountains. Metallurgy is utterly unknown to the Ainu. Until of late years they possessed nothing made of metal. Their arrows had bamboo or bone heads; tin or iron cooking utensils they had none; and the blades of their knives were and are of Japanese origin. Some of these blades are very old, and were acquired by the Ainu in the battles which they fought against the Japanese; others have been got by barter-metal exchanged for skins of animals.

Furthermore, save the weaving-loom, the Ainu possess no machinery of their own make. This too, as we have seen, is but a very rude and simple kind of machine. The application of wind or water power to economise human labour is in no way known to them; thus they have no windlasses, no pumps, no bellows, no windmills, no waterwheels; neither have they any signs of the rudest form of machinery moved by manual power which they have imagined and made for themselves. Furthermore, they are very loth to accept those mechanical means of economising labour which are employed by their neighbours the Japanese.

The Ainu are very conservative, little as they may have to preserve. They show a great dislike to change or reform their habits and customs, or to improve themselves in any way. Worse they could certainly not be. They have no ancestral attachment which makes them unwilling to discard their rude practices for more civilised ways; but, acting according to their instincts, and not by their intelligence, they preserve customs which seem inconvenient and unpractical to us, which habit has rendered familiar and pleasant to them.

Various natives in other parts of the world show signs of an earlier state of civilisation, but the Ainu do not. They have never had a past civilisation, they are not civilised now, and what is more, they will never be civilised. Civilisation kills them. As a hog delights in filth, so the Ainu can only live in dirt, neglect, and savagery of personal habits. They are made that way, and they cannot help it. They are excluded from progress by an impassable barrier. They have many miseries in their life, but no greater misery could befall an Ainu than to be forced to lead a civilised existence. Even after they have been educated in Japanese schools, when they return home, in a short time they forget all they have learned, and

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discard their acquired civilisation for the old, free, untrammelled mountain life; the wild habits of the woods and seashore; the nakedness of summer and the stifling squalor of the one small dingy hut in winter; the uncombed hair and matted beard; the putrid flesh of salmon, and the vile compound they revel in till they get gloriously drunk and bestial.

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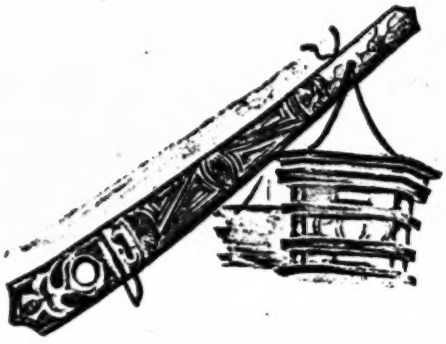

AINU PIPE-HOLDER AND TOBACCO POUCH, AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

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lectual activity, for beyond that point the Ainu brain cannot go. As art in its natural state is merely the pictorial outcome of what the brain has grasped, we have in these crude beginnings another strong proof that the brain-power of the Ainu is indeed very limited, and their inability to represent animal form seems extraordinary in view of what other savages have done; but of course superstition may have something to say to the omission. The Ainu rank very low in the scale of civilisation; they are probably below the Australian blacks and the tree-dwellers of India, who are supposed to be among the lowest races in creation. The Terra del Fuegians and certain African tribes run them hard; but, taken all in all, the Ainu are the furthest behind in the great race of human development.

AN AINU PIPE.

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with the more imaginative Japanese. It is to be noted, however, that the Ainu, though to a certain extent as imitative as monkeys, have also a large amount of personality and originality, due to their shy and unsocial habits. This originality is not surprising when we remember that they are taught nothing, and that each man provides for himself and his family, but has no markedly friendly feelings towards his neighbours; in other words, it is a state of degradation very similar to that of wild animals. Perfect indifference is shown by the people of one village towards those of another. They are neither friends nor foes. All have a right to live, but as for helping one another, that is out of the question.

Having no written documents, each man, in his easy-going manner, recites and sings as best pleases himself such verses or legends as he has heard from his father or from some other person, and the result is that, according to the reciter's greater or smaller poetical and musical tastes, the grandfather's composition, already altered by his father, is again altered by the son, which makes it a composition of his own. This transformation of a given theme is common even among civilised nations when people are set to repeat the same story verbally transmitted from one to the other—the version of the third person has but little in common with that of the first. If this we do with a spoken narrative, how much more with tunes learned by ear only, and characterised in the delivery by individual temperament and transient mood.

The Ainu do not teach these legends to their children, and if learned at all they are merely "picked up" by ear and, in a manner, at random; therefore, most Ainu profess ignorance as to their existence, and a man, when I asked him if he knew any, scornfully answered in these identical words, translated:—"The Ainu are taught nothing, and they know nothing."

The few legends, &c., that I heard were told me by Benry at Piratori, and by another old man, the chief of a village up the Saru River. The title of one was "Tushi-une-pan"—"Twice Below;" the story of Yoshitsune, a Japanese hero, and Samoro-kuru (a Japanese man-friend of Yoshitsune), who came to Yezo and had a great struggle with a huge fish, which was harpooned by them and disappeared twice under the water, capsizing the boat which contained the two fishermen.

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extent, discuss and combine. The Ainu memory is a perfect blank in certain respects, as with arithmetic, science, mechanics, reading, writing, drawing, and delineating maps; while in other directions it seems to be fairly keen, as in hunting, fishing, tracking, and acquiring languages up to a certain point. This last faculty is noticeable in nearly all the lowest races, as the Australian aborigines, the Tasmanian natives (now extinct), the Tierra del Fuegians, &c. The Ainu ideas of time are vague, and if you add to that the extreme difficulty which they experience in counting even up to ten, and their inability to count beyond that number, it is easy to understand why we can never learn the exact age of Ainu individuals.

Like the monkeys, the Ainu cannot concentrate their attention, and they are easily wearied. Beads and shiny objects have a fascination for them; but other objects, even perfectly new to them, arouse but little curiosity, which soon passes, and they show no intelligence and less imagination as to the probable use of these strange objects. They show no inquisitiveness, and no wish to be taught the use of anything new and unfamiliar.

It will be remembered that at Yamakubiro, on the Tokachi River, beyond the natural astonishment caused by the first appearance of my ponies, the strange baggage, and myself, the Ainu did not pay much attention to this novel sight, and did not show any wish to have it explained, while more civilised people, like the Japanese, would not have been satisfied until I had shown and explained every article in my possession, and allowed each person to try its use, &c., after which they would talk for hours of what they had seen. The Ainu are not "built" so, and therefore they have never made any progress. In the more civilised parts of Yezo we have a proof of it. Their backwardness in acquiring the habits and customs of their conquerors the Japanese, arises from incapacity more than from conservatism. Yet for all that the Ainu are so incapable of improving themselves, they are very persevering in what they do attempt, as in their rough wooden carvings, the hollowing of their "dug-outs," the construction of their wooden tools and weapons, the weaving of their rough garments, and the ornamentation thereof; but in all these they

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others at Piratori, no other Ainu I met in any other part of Yezo seemed to know about Yoshitsune—or Okikurumi, as he is sometimes called by them; and, moreover, they knew nothing of his doings, or of the reason of his being worshipped. The Ainu of the Tokachi knew nothing whatever of this personage.

The Ainu idea of soul is always associated with "breath" or "life;" and as for the resurrection of the body and the future life of the soul, they have never even dreamt of it. Metempsychosis is equally unknown to them.

As my readers have seen, in the description of a burial the implements and weapons which belonged to a deceased person are buried with him. The articles, however, previous to being thrown into the grave, are smashed to pieces; for the idea is, not that the dead body should profit by these things in the other world, but that no other person should make use of what had been his property in this. The reasoning power of the Ainu does not carry him beyond what is purely material; his mind has never been trained to go beyond that limit, and he finds that he can live well within it. Like all animals, he is guided by his instinct, which tells him what is good and what is bad for him; but as to any attempt to find out *why* such things are good or bad for him, he is utterly at a loss, and has to give up the quest. Though not devoid of a rudimentary kind of shrewdness, the Ainu is dense and ignorant to the last degree, and just as he is reluctant to adopt new modes of living, so he is unable to accept new ideas or larger thoughts. The mere conception of a Superior Being, who is the Maker of all things and above all things, is far beyond the comprehension of any Ainu. Eating and drinking are what he principally lives for. He does not thirst for knowledge, nor strive after the Divine; and he has no creed of any kind and no formula of sacrifice or worship, which two conditions are essential to even the most elementary religion.

What the Ainu do really possess in the way of supernaturalism is the ordinary savage's credulous superstition, which manifests itself in certain charms or fear of certain omens. However, after that degree they take the world as it comes. They have no idea of who made it, and they are not anxious to learn. The sun, the moon, bears, salmon, water, fire, mountains, trees,

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Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu are theists, or polytheists, after what we have heard of their gods, this is a somewhat surprising statement. It will be remembered that anything good or bad, dreaded or repulsive, respected or not respected, is qualified by the Ainu as *Kamui*, and we shall attribute for a while the imaginary meaning of "God" to the word. Now, if everything and everybody, good or bad, is equally a god, I myself fail to see the necessity of a hell, as the chances are that all the gods would inhabit heaven. This alone serves to show how absurd the theory is; but I wish to give the exact translation of the words *Kando* and *Teine-pokna-moshiri*, which are said to be the two Ainu expressions for "heaven" and "hell."

Kando means "sky," not "heaven." *Teine-pokna-moshiri*[1] stands for the "wet earth under (ground)." As the Ainu are in the habit of burying their dead, I find it more rational to apply to the words in question the meaning of a "burial-place," a "cold place of rest" rather than that of Hades or Gehenna.

"They" (the Ainu), says a learned missionary, "seem to conceive of men and women as living in large communities in the other world in the same way and under the same conditions as they do in this, excepting that they can know no death." In other words, resurrection of the body and eternal life.

Strange to say, the writer of the same lines asserted in the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,"[2] that "The Ainu *know nothing* of a resurrection of the body."

It must not be argued that because they have no religion the Ainu are bad people. They are far from it. They are decidedly not moral, for nothing is immoral among them. The Ainu must be considered more as animals than as human beings. When we speak of a dog, we do not ask whether it is a moral dog, but only if it is a good dog. The same can be said of the Ainu. We cannot compare them to ourselves, nor judge them by our own standard of morality. Taken by themselves they are gentle, kind, brave, and above everything they are simple. Their language, manners, customs, arts, habits, as we have seen, are the very simplest and rudest possible. Thus, it is absurd to suppose that such simple brains could entertain high religious ideas. If they had brains enough to compass high religious beliefs they would long ago have used those

[1] *Teine*, wet; *pokna*, under; *moshiri*, earth, place, island.

[2] Vol. X., Part II., § 6.

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brains in bettering their miserable condition and filthy mode of living. They would have striven to make the beginnings of a history and a literature, or at least to have devised or adopted some mode of writing with which they could preserve these high ideas, and pass them on from generation to generation. Even their language is so poor in words as to hardly express their everyday wants. The Ainu are low in the scale of humanity. They have always been low; they have not sunk, for they have never risen. They have never done any harm in this world, and they will never do any good.

The Ainu are without laws, which, paradoxical as it sounds, to a great extent makes them good. People are never so good as when no harm can be done. There are indeed few crimes among them; no voluntary infanticides; very very rarely murders; no suicides; little theft, and as little treachery among people of the same tribe. Though usually retiring and reserved, they are hospitable on special occasions, and generous with what little they possess. The young show an instinctive reverence for the aged, without considering it a virtue or a duty. Cowardice is despised by the Ainu, but courage, endurance of pain, and hardship, drunkenness, and similar qualities, are looked on as the chief virtues in men. Punishments are seldom inflicted by Ainu on any of their tribesmen, and the crime must indeed be great to raise the whole community against the criminal. If by rare chance some great evil has been done, the chief of the village and all the men assemble, and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. Flogging is the general punishment for the lesser crimes, which, according to Ainu ideas, are theft and assault. The murder of a tribesman is sometimes punished by cutting the tendons of the hands and feet of the murderer, thus disabling him from hunting or fishing. If, however, the man murdered was of another tribe, or a Japanese, this Draconian kind of justice is not administered. Quarrels among tribesmen are settled by private retribution, and no one interferes either one way or the other. These quarrels, however, very seldom occur, as the Ainu are naturally a peaceful people. Imprisonment does not exist, for the simple reason that the Ainu have no prisons. They do not know what a prison is; neither is capital punishment practised by them. According to their own ideas they are not cruel to children, for we

A 224 [192] /576 cont./ More Trustworthy and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a similar manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as reindeer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, except that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and encouraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however, the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure, not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them, too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more abundant and better existence through a more active practice of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account in trade with the Gilyak.

G 224 [411] A 224 411 439 325 178 A 224 181 433 648

Gi 224 433 Gi [439] The situation is different for the other neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy themselves for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently

796 114 /735 cont./ the festival in the little village of Kunnui located on Vulkan Bay, and the latter observed it in the village of Ssussuja, which lies on the river of the same name emptying into Aniwa /Aniva/ Bay.

[176] Although the Ainu confer upon the bear the epithet "god," in that they call it Kimui-Kamui, or, according to Siebold, Hokjok-Kamui (4), and although they regard it, according to

[113] 4 Scheube, loc. cit.. Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenk. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnological Explanations to the Discoveries of Van Vries/, p. 110.

Dobrotworskij, as a son of the god of the mountains and forest or wilderness (Ainu nuburi-kamui (5) and treat it with superstitious

[113] 5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/," supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imper. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, p. 41.

fear and veneration, this does not in the least prevent them from killing and eating it -- but in doing so certain traditional customs and formalities must be observed in order to rid themselves of guilt and to avoid the revenge of its manes. Dr. Scheube, to be sure, thinks that the motive for both the bear festival (jomante) of the Ainu (6) and the fattening of the young bear preceding it is expiation,

796 182 [114]

6. According to Mamia Rinsô, among the Ainu of Jesso the bear festival is called omsia. C. Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 189, 203.

which is offered to the entire race of bears for the misdeed committed against it by them, but I cannot agree with this opinion at all. In view of the utilitarian viewpoint toward everything, which is characteristic of the Ainu, too, I am more inclined to

• [181]

796 /735 cont./
182 believe that, governed by fear and superstition, they see in it
[181] merely a means of exploiting the bear quietly and with impunity.
[171] The view on which the bear festival rests therefore seems to me to be exactly the same among the Ainu as among the Gilyak, and the customary practices of both peoples in connection with it correspond in their basic features.

796 The Japanese Kannemon reports in his "Jeso-ki" that, if the
23 Ainu find a bear cub, they bring it home, where it is suckled by
152 the wife of the finder (7) -- a story that sounds very improbable,

[113] 7 Titsingh, "Ieso-ki ou description de l'île d'Iesso, composée par Kannemon en 1652 /Ieso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso, written by Kannemon in 1652/" (Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 154). Also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou aperçu général des trois royaumes /San kokf tsou ran to sets, or General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, Paris, 1832, p. 236.

though at the bear festival in Kunnui Scheube saw such a bear wet-nurse, who sat sadly to one side and now and then even burst into
[182] tears. To be sure, it seemed to him that her sadness was not feigned
[183] and, say, merely prescribed by the rules of the festival, but was actually prompted by the fate of her foster child, but then later she participated actively in the dances customary at the festival, in fact even /736/ led them herself in part, and, since weeping and mourning over the bear is a necessary requirement of a bear festival in order to be relieved of all guilt for the death of the bear and any ultimate responsibility for it, one would certainly not be mistaken in ascribing the alleged grief to this conception which is common to the Ainu along with the Gilyak and other peoples. Among the
23 Gilyak, at any rate, I never heard anything which would confirm
171 Kannemon's tale about the Ainu. Among them a watery moss is more likely to serve as the first food for a bear cub. Free at first, or kept in a little cage in one corner of the hut, the bear, when